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# NEGRO SLAVERY OR CRIME OF THE CLERGY

By  
PASQUALE RUSSO



PRICE 50c



# NEGRO SLAVERY

OR

## CRIME OF THE CLERGY

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A TREATISE ON CHATTEL AND WAGE  
SLAVERY, PRESENTING A BRIEF HIS-  
TORICAL DISCUSSION OF THE NEGRO  
PROBLEM IN AMERICA.

BY

PASQUALE RUSSO

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1923

PUBLISHED BY

MODERN SCHOOL OF PEDAGOGY

833 Sedgwick Street

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



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MAR 28 '23

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## PREFACE.

The following monograph is written for and dedicated to the lovers of freedom; to those who are on the firing line in the struggle between the classes and those who are fighting dogmatic theology, industrial oppression and political tyranny.

Particularly we address ourselves to the colored people of the United States on account of their brilliant and heroic struggle against capitalistic autocracy. It is hoped that this story will inspire a better understanding among the negroes and lead them to join their white fellow workers in the struggle against the exploiting capitalist class and their agents, the clergy.

It is the duty of every colored man and woman to be informed on this question and to make use of their reasoning faculties. Only in this way can they avoid being unduly influenced by corrupt politicians, lawyers and insincere clergymen, most of whom presume to do the thinking for the colored population.

That the labor of the negro is exploited by a well organized system is now quite obvious and the method by which it is accomplished amounts in substance to robbery.

In past ages there have been other systems such as serfdom and chattel slavery and it is now generally agreed that both were barbaric and inhuman. We have now come to know that the capitalist system of exploitation is in the same category. And it is evident that relief is only to be had by getting in touch with accurate sources of information; by intensified working-class education and solidified economic organization.

At present, one of the chief obstacles to the attainment of freedom from wage-slavery is the clergy. In all ages it has been an enemy of the workers and under the present capitalistic regime merely appear in a different guise. In all the struggles of the past the priest has identified himself with the ruling classes and has pretended friendship for the ruled class. During the movement for the abolition of negro slavery in the United States the clergymen demonstrated beyond the perad-

venture of a doubt that they not only were the beneficiaries of negro exploitation but upheld it as the divinely ordained institution. These facts are set forth in this book.

To all this we are quite well aware the clergy will raise a storm of protest and condemn the book outright. However, the facts speak for themselves, the road is clear, our work is conscientious, and we have done our duty as best we knew how.

In this work we are indebted to many predecessors and some contemporaries. For our sources of information we are grateful to Gustave Hervé, Herman Schulter, Eugene V. Debs, Scott Nearing, Gustavus Myers, George R. Kirkpatrick, Oscar Ameringer, Parker Pillsbury, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Robert G. Ingersoll, Claude McKay, Win-  
rood Reade and many others.

Also appreciative thanks are expressed to Professor Samuel W. Ball, instructor in the Central School of Psychology, Chicago, for editing, revising and compiling our work. It was through him that our work was brought to completion at so early a date.

If this work brings home vividly to the reader the necessity for the solution of the problem which it presents it will well serve its purpose. This little book is as sincere as the author could make it and it will be enduring for that reason.

—Pasquale Russo.

Chicago, Illinois.  
March 1, 1923.

## SLAVERY.

By Percy Bysshe Shelley

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What is freedom? Ye can tell  
That which Slavery is too well,  
For its very name has grown  
To an echo of your own.  
'Tis to work and have such pay  
As just keeps life from day to day  
In your limbs as in a cell  
For the tyrants' use to dwell,  
So that ye for them are made  
Loom and plough and sword and spade.  
With or without your own will, bent  
To their defense and nourishment.  
'Tis to see your children weak  
With their mothers pine and peak  
When the winter winds are bleak—  
They are dying whilst I speak.  
'Tis to hunger for such diet  
As the rich man in his riot  
Casts to the fat dogs that lie  
Surfeiting beneath his eye.  
'Tis to be a slave in soul,  
And to hold no strong control  
Over your own wills, but be  
All that others make of ye;  
And, at length when ye complain  
With a murmur weak and vain,  
'Tis to see the tyrant's crew  
Ride over your wives and you—

Blood is on the grass like dew!  
Then it is to feel revenge,  
Fiercely thirsting to exchange  
Blood for blood, and wrong for wrong;  
Do not thus when ye are strong!  
Birds find rest in narrow nest,  
When weary of their winged quest;  
Beasts find fare in woody lair  
When storms and snow are in the air;  
Horses, oxen, have a home  
When from daily toil they come;  
Household dogs, when the wind roars,  
Find a home within warm doors;  
Asses, swine, have litter spread  
And with fitting food are fed;  
All things have a home but one:  
Thou, O Englishman, hast none!  
This is Slavery!—savage men,  
Or wild beasts within a den,  
Would endure not as ye do;  
But such ills they never knew.  
Rise, like lions after slumber,  
In unvanquishable number!  
Shake your chains to earth, like dew  
Which in sleep had fallen on you!  
Ye are many, they are few.

## INTRODUCTION.

The negro race has a history of its own. The weird romanticism of the Ethiopian in his native African habitat, in itself makes a most fascinating subject for investigation and research. It is not, however, with the traditions, customs and institutions of the negro in his native land that we are most concerned; but rather with the more grewsome and tragic phases of his strange and sad story, the most pitiful pages of which deal with the enslavement of almost an entire people and their struggles toward civic and economic freedom. The emancipation of the slaves in America staged the first victory of their struggle for liberty from the enslavement forced upon them by the good Christian plutocrats of America and other so-called civilized countries.

The chapter that deals with negro slavery constitutes one of the darkest stains on the record of United States history. To be born with brown skin has always been held an unforgivable crime by other races, especially by the Caucasian whites. This concept sprang from the arrogance of the aristocratic Indo-European world, from the bigotry of the churchmen and the ignorance of the masses.

Robert G. Ingersoll said in his address to the colored people at Galesburg, Illinois, 1887: "Slavery has in a thousand forms existed in all ages and among all people. It is as old as theft or robbery. Every nation has enslaved its own people, and sold its own flesh and blood. Most of the white race are in slavery today. It has often been said that any man who ought to be free will be. The men who say this should remember that their own ancestors were once cringing, frightened, helpless slaves. When they became sufficiently educated to cease enslaving their own people, they then enslaved the first race they could conquer. If they differed in religion, they enslaved them. If they differed in color that was sufficient. If they differed even in language, it was enough. If they were captured, they then pretended that having spared their lives, they had the right to enslave them. This argument was worthless. If they were captured, then there was no necessity for killing them. If there was no necessity for killing them, then they had no

right to kill them. If they had no right to kill them, then they had no right to enslave them under the pretense that they had saved their lives. Every excuse that the ingenuity of avarice could devise was believed to be a complete justification, and the great argument of slave-holders in all countries has been that slavery is a divine institution, and thus stealing human beings has always been justified with a 'Thus saith the Lord'. Slavery has always been upheld by law and religion in every country."

It is well known that the church, like Aristotle, held slavery to be necessary and natural, and, under just conditions, beneficial to both parties in the relation. It was clearly to the interest of the church and state to preserve slavery indefinitely, which has always been a legal status of oppression employed by the master class to keep in subjection the workers of every country.

In India, China and Africa slavery existed for many centuries. Among Babylonians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Persians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans, slavery was the foundation of society. Religion always was the ally of the aristocratic class in upholding slavery as a holy institution. Brahmanism, Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism—all these religions have sanctioned slavery. The slave was the property of the master and had no civil right to freedom. He was voiceless and powerless.

Speaking of the slaves, Thomas Jefferson said: "When the measure of their tears shall be full—when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors or at least by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of blind fatality."

# NEGRO SLAVERY OR CRIME OF THE CLERGY

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## SLAVE COAST.

The old slave coast, part of Upper Guinea and West Africa, extending from the River Volta to the Niger Delta, is now included in the spheres of influence of Great Britain and France. From the beginning of the 16th to the end of the 18th century this region was the principal resort of the Europeans engaged in the slave trade. As Africa had been noted chiefly through the trading posts which bartered for "White Ivory", the new traffic in negro slaves soon become popularly known as trade in "Black Ivory".

"The original inhabitants of Africa were the Hottentots, or Bushmen, a dwarfish race who have restless, rambling, ape-like eyes, a click in their speech, and bodies which are the wonder of anatomists. They are now found only on the South African platform, or perhaps here and there on the platform of the Congo. They have been driven southward by the negroes, as the Esquimaux in America were driven north by the Red Indians, and the Finns in Europe by the Celtic tribes, while the negroes themselves have yielded in some parts of Africa to Asiatic tribes, as the Celts in Gaul and Britain yielded to the Germans." (*Martyrdom of Man*, Winwood Reade, p. 276).

Politically the slave coast was before 1914 divided between Germany, France, and the Queen of the Sea, Great Britain. At the end of the Great World War the German section of Togoland fell into the hands of English imperialists, and so once more, the tail of the perfidious lion was safe in the Lagos section of Nigeria.

## GENESIS OF NEGRO SLAVE TRAFFIC.

After the disappearance of serfdom in most "Christian countries", the same monster, under different cloth, came with the barbarous system of slavery, adding one more plague on the body of humanity.

The first people to venture down the west coast of Africa and around the continent were Portuguese navigators who discovered the slave coast of Africa from which most of the negroes came.

The Navigator, Prince Henry, with a crew of Portuguese, in the year 1442, started exploring the Atlantic coast of Africa.

"He was not only a brave knight(?) but also a distinguished scholar; his mind had been enriched by study of the works of Cicero, Seneca and Pliny, and by the latin translation of the Greek geographers. He now stepped on that mysterious continent which had been closed to Christians for several hundred years. He questioned some prisoners respecting the interior. They described the rich and learned cities of Morocco, the Atlas mountains, shining with snow; and the sandy desert on their southern side. It was there that the ancients had supposed all life came to an end. But now the Prince received the astounding intelligence that beyond the Sahara was a land inhabited entirely by negroes; covered with fields of corn and cotton, watered by majestic rivers, on the banks of which rose cities as large as Morocco, or Lisbon, or Seville. In that country were gold mines of prodigious wealth; it was also a granary of slaves. By land it could be reached in a week from Morocco by a courier mounted on a swift dromedary of the desert, which halted not by day or night.

"There were regular caravans or camel-fleet, which passed to and fro at certain seasons of the year. The Black Country, as they called it, could also be reached by sea if ships sailed along the desert shore toward the south they would arrive at the mouths of wide rivers, which flowed down from the gold-bearing hills." ("Martyrdom of Man", Winwood Reade, p. 328-9).

Prince Henry had an able officer, Senior Antam Gonsalves who captured many Moors and held them in hostage at the command of the Prince. The prisoners captured offered a ransom of several negroes for their release. The offer was accepted by Prince Henry and as soon as the Moors were freed, in gratitude for their freedom they offered to the Prince gold dust and precious stones. This was the incentive for the Portuguese to build many ships for the slave traffic and fortified their positions along the African coast.

Scott Nearing, speaking of the slave coast says: "The trade in gold and ivory, which sprang up as a result of those early explorations, led other nations of Europe to enter into eager competition with the Portuguese. Thus the commercial interests of the French, German, Danish and English were eventually brought into sharp conflict with those of the Portuguese."

Portugal for some time supplied Spain with negroes and in a very short time Spain had plenty of slaves. Haiti in 1505 had thousands of negro slaves under the iron rule of the Spanish governor, Nicolas de Ovando. These negroes did excellent work in the mines, and could bear the labor better than the Indians.

King Charles in 1516, while in Flanders, granted license to his courtiers for the importation of negroes into the colonies and gave the Flemish the right of supplying 4000 negroes annually to Haiti, Cuba, Jamaica and Porto Rico. The Flemish merchants later sold that patent for 25,000 ducats to the Genoese. The enormous Genoese, English and Portuguese success, in the slave-trade, stirred Spain to the foolish ambition of conquering a portion of the slave coast, but Spain was prevented from taking possession of the African coast, by Pope Alexander VI, who gave an order forbidding Spain to acquire territory east of the meridian line of 100 miles west of the Azores. To have the privilege of doing business in Africa it was necessary to have the sanction of the holy father.

## THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

The Western Hemisphere was the great problem confronted by European pirates for many centuries before the discovery of the New World.

The cause that led Columbus to the discovery of America lies in the commercial interest of the imperialistic class of Spain.

The era of slavery and robbery began on the American continent with the landing of Columbus, who ventured to follow in the footsteps of Marco Polo for the lure of gold and not for the love of mankind. Columbus was a brutal and cruel man. Events that followed the landing of Columbus confirm this statement. In his memorial of the second voyage to the Indies, January 30, 1494, he wrote to King Ferdinand: "Cattle, provision and other articles can be sold

at moderate prices and paid with slaves, taken among the Caribbees who are a wild people fit for any work, who will be better than any other kind of slaves." The King gladly accepted the advice and commencing in 1509, he forced more than 40,000 slaves in the mines of Cuba to work for the interests of the aristocratic class of Spain.

The discovery of America was the era of a new form of oppression, "Colonial Slavery."

Negro slaves, by the year 1626 were already brought back and sold in New York. Thus it is seen that slavery and the slave trade in the United States dates from the earliest colonial times.

## THE ENGLISH SLAVE TRADE.

The tragic chapter of Spanish slavery is as nothing in comparison with the one dealing with the English slave trade.

Sir John Hawkins, an Englishman, was the first rascal to engage in the slave trade. His aim at the beginning was to supply Spanish settlements with slaves until a new road was opened to him. An English ship in 1620, visited Jamestown, Virginia, selling a cargo of slaves to the tobacco-planters.

For many years the African trade of England was in the hands of exclusive companies. The "Company of Royal Adventurers, Trading in Africa" was chartered by the Christian King (?) Charles II, in the year 1662. This was the devout Charles II who claimed his throne by the grace of God, Defender of the Faith by Divine Right. His Royal Majesty inspired more by a desire to share the moral responsibility than the profit of the nefarious enterprise, accepted as partners in his slave traffic the Dowager Queen and the Duke of York.

This company supplied the East Indies with more than three thousand slaves each year. But somehow the venture failed to show adequate returns and in 1672 the company sold its charter to the "Royal African Company" organized for the same worthy purpose, by the same divinely inspired King. This company supplied the Spanish colonies with 4800 negroes annually. The African Company continued to exist however, and obtained from time to time parliamentary grants by the Treaty of Utrecht.

In 1692, the British parliament, ignoring the King's divine right to rule, gave English merchants the right to trade in African slaves, provided they paid a small tax. The hunting of human beings, to make them slaves, was urgently demanded by the European colonies.

The English slave trade was then carried on principally from Liverpool, London, Bristol and Lancaster. The number of ships sailing from those ports was 192, and in them space was provided for the transport of 47,145 negroes. After the slaves left the dark African continent, during the passage to the West Indies, twelve per cent died at Jamaica, four and a half per cent died while in the harbors.

According to statistics, out of every lot of a hundred slaves shipped from Africa, seventeen died in about nine weeks and not more than fifty per cent lived to be effective laborers in the island. The circumstances and the miserable life on the plantation did not serve to increase their number.

In Jamaica, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, there were in 1690, 40,000 slaves; from that year till 1820, there were imported 800,000 slaves; yet at the latter date there were only 340,000 of them left in the island. One thing which prevented the natural increase of population was the inequality in the number of the sexes; in Jamaica alone there was an excess of 30,000 males.

## NEGRO CIVILIZATION.

The negroes who inhabited the Slave Coast from Cape Verde on the north to St. Martha on the south were of varying standards of life and temperament.

U. B. Phillips says, in his *American Negro Slavery*, (p. 48, 1906 edition): "The Wyndahs, Nagoes and Pawpaws of the Slave Coast were generally the most highly esteemed of all. They were lusty and industrious, cheerful and submissive."

Historians record that some of them were fierce and warlike, while others were docile and amenable to discipline. The more spirited and aggressive made indifferent slaves; the docile and subservient were eagerly sought out and sold in the slave market.

When European buccaneers began to exploit the natives as human chattel, the inhabitants of the slave coast had made wonderful progress in culture and industry. In the

preslavery days they built houses of mud and stones; they made ornaments of artistic value and they wove cloth.

Along the west coast of Africa the native culture, while not highly advanced, was a culture which had taken root and made definite progress within the knowledge of man. It was a culture in which had developed language, arts, commerce, tribal unity and communal organization.

This native progress received a mortal blow, in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries by the insatiable demand from European and American traders for black slaves.

The object of dealing in "Black Ivory" was to insure a maximum of labor from the unfortunate victim at a minimum cost. Ethiopian families were ruthlessly broken up, lives hopelessly wrecked and the negroes' economic power of productivity exploited to the uttermost. The severest brutalities were inflicted upon those who had the hardihood and the manhood to express by word or deed, their natural resentment and dissatisfaction with their unenviable lot. And what if a zealous overseer or master beat to death an ungrateful, rebellious or runaway slave who had risked his all to wrest freedom from his brutal, inhuman, merciless oppressors? Was the dead slave not his master's chattel? Who that dared to criticize the master's disposition of his property—"Industry! Submissiveness!" No wonder these qualities were so especially valued by the slave traders.

## TRAPPING AND PROCURING OF SLAVES.

Scott Nearing, concerning the trapping of slaves, said: "When the Portuguese explored the slave coast there was comparatively little slavery among the natives. Some captives taken in war; some debtors, unable to meet their obligations and some violators of religious tribal rites, were held by the chief or headman of the tribe. On occasion this barbarous tyrant would sell his slaves, but the slave trade cannot be said to have been really established until the white man organized it." With a few minor exceptions the whites themselves did not engage directly in slave catching. This was far too dangerous a business. In most instances slave brokers who established themselves on the coast, supplied the needs of the European and American traders. These vile traffickers and exploiters of their brother negroes, in turn, were supplied

with slaves from the interior. Most of these were captured during native wars by professional raiding parties, well supplied with European arms and ammunition.

"At first the European kidnapped the negroes whom they met on the beach, or who came off the ships in their canoes; but the "treacherous natives" made reprisals; the practice was, therefore, given up, and the trade was conducted upon an equitable principle. It was found that honesty is the best policy, and that it was cheaper to buy men than to steal them." ("Martyrdom of Man," Winwood Reade, p. 348.)

The trapping and shipping of negroes off the coast of Africa developed gradually into an important industry. The total number of slaves carried away from Africa during the period when the slave trade flourished is difficult to estimate. Authorities differ somewhat upon the matter.

Between 1650 and 1700, 140,000 negroes were exported by the African Company and 160,000 by pirate enterprisers. Between 1700 and 1786 as many as 610,000 were transported to Jamaica alone, which had been an English possession since 1655. Claridge states that the Guinea Coast as a whole supplied from 70,000 to 100,000 slaves yearly, about the year 1700. Bryan Edward estimates the total import of slaves into all the British colonies of America and the Indies from 1680 to 1786 at 2,130,000. W. W. Claridge records a shipment of 47,000 slaves carried off by the British ships alone in 1771, and gives the total number of slaves shipped from the African coast, in the year 1768, as approximately 97,000. The British slave trade reached its utmost extension shortly before the war for American Independence.

The negro inhabitant of the slave coast was practically compelled to choose between being a traitor (slave catcher) against his fellowmen or an enemy of the white slave traders. As a slave catcher he was considered among the white merchants as a respectable black man because he spread terror and destruction among his inoffensive fellow Ethiopians whom he seized and sold to the enemy of his race, the white exploiters, of his subjugated people. In case of solidarity to his class he was doomed to take a long journey across the Atlantic, to a strange, wild, new, unexplored and unknown land, and condemned to perpetual slavery.

In defence of these poor human beings, Thomas Paine said: "These inoffensive people, which are brought into

slavery, by stealing them, tempting kings to sell subjects, which they have no right to do, and hiring one tribe to war against one another to catch prisoners, but such wicked and inhuman ways are left by heathen to be practiced by Christians."

## THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The first cause of the Revolutionary War was the interference of the ruling class of England with the profits of the smugglers and land speculators of this country.

"It was a quarrel between two divisions of the ruling class separated by a vast expanse of water and each envying the opportunities of the other. Commerce, ship-building, industry and agriculture had developed to such an extent at the dawn of the Revolution that acts of Parliament became a serious menace to the income of the colonial master." ("Workers in American History," James Oneal, p. 105.)

A. M. Simmons in "Class Struggle in America" says: "By the beginning of the 18th century, the English were attempting to enforce the laws against smuggling. At the same time they passed laws forbidding the growth of manufacturing in the colonies. Yet on the whole this attempt at enforcement was not successful enough to be anything more than an annoyance to the shrewd smugglers of New England. This made it possible for the East India Company, a semi-governmental institution, in which the king and most of the court favorites were interested, to deliver tea in Boston Harbor, tariff and all, cheaper than the American smugglers could sell. This abolished the profit and when the profit was eliminated, smuggling was most effectually prohibited." Then it was that the oppressed smugglers roused and held the Boston Tea Party.

The second cause of the Revolutionary War we may trace to the intrigues of George Washington. Before the Revolutionary War no working class interest was at stake and when the conflict arose we must blame the treachery of the Father of Our Country, George Washington.

In 1749 the Ohio Company was organized and George Washington was made President. King George gave the Ohio Company 500,000 acres of land for speculation. The good old

"Father of Our Country" was not satisfied, and, without any permission he surveyed more land. According to Simons, "Washington had good reasons for being a rebel, as he had surveyed land outside the royal grant and in exceeding the power of his commission was liable to prosecution as a law breaker." With him was associated another good patriot, John Hancock (King of Smugglers), who signed the Declaration of Independence. Hancock was accused of having robbed the English Government of \$500,000 import duties. This was another reason why Hancock fought English imperialism. So, it is quite evident that the Revolutionary War was fought to save the robbers' faces.

"Fortunately, evidence exists in abundance to show that it was a revolt of the aristocracy, fought by the workers under the delusion that the grandiloquent phrases of the Declaration of Independence implied greater opportunities and liberties for the long suffering laborers." ("The Workers in American History," James Oneal, p. 104.)

There is a general impression that Washington was a good man. No one can deny that he was good for himself, like any other despot. He was the friend of the ruling class and the enemy of the working class. Never during his administration did he utter a word against slavery.

Jefferson, at the First Continental Congress, proposed an ordinance (March 1st, 1784) for the government of the North West Territory, in which there was a proviso that after the year 1800 "There shall be no slavery nor involuntary servitude." This proviso was defeated by the chicanery of astute politicians. At the Convention of Philadelphia in 1787, where the Constitution was drafted, the framers, to save the Union, left out the abolition of slavery, as a part of the text. To fool the people they inserted a paragraph which read: "All men are born free and equal, with equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The South wanted more slaves and at any cost they stood against the abolition of slavery. "Upon this question Virginia appears to have been divided. But Georgia and the Carolinas at once declared that they would not have the slave trade abolished; they wanted more slaves; and unless this species of property was guaranteed, they would not enter the Union at all. They demanded that slavery should be recognized and protected by the Constitution. The Northerners gave in at once; they only requested that the words

'slave' and 'slavery' might not appear. To this the Southerners agreed, and the contract was delicately worded, but it was none the less stringent. It was made a clause of the Constitution that if the slaves of any state rebelled, the national troops should be employed against them. It was made a clause of the Constitution that if a slave escaped to a free state, the authorities of that state should be obliged to give him up. And lastly, slave owners were allowed to have votes in proportion to the number of their slaves. Such was the price which the Northerners were to pay for nationality, a price which their descendants found a hard and heavy one to pay. The Fathers of the Country ate sour grapes, and the children's teeth were set on edge." ("Martyrdom of Man," Winwood Reade, p. 375).

The Constitution is supposed to be the cornerstone of American freedom but, in fact, little freedom was given to the workers.

The reason the masters of 1776 refused to abolish slavery lay in the danger or possibility of the rise of labor to power.

When the United States Constitution was written Adam Smith spoke in plain language, "Civil government, so far as it is instituted for the security of property, is in reality instituted for the defense of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all."

The Constitution was framed by the ruling class for their own benefit. Senator R. F. Pettigrew in his immortal book "Imperial Washington" states in Chapter XIII, page 163: "The Convention of 1787 that framed the Constitution of the United States was dominated by lawyers, money-lenders and land owners. It did its work behind closed doors, all members being sworn not to disclose any of the proceedings.

"Madison reported the proceedings in long-hand; his notes were purchased by Congress and published in 1837, nearly half a century after the convention had finished its work. These published notes disclose the forces that dominated the work of the convention. All through the debates ran one theme: how to secure a government, not by the people for the people, but by the classes for the classes, with the lawyers in control. This was the burden of the debates, page after page, through all of the seven hundred sixty pages of the two volumes of Madison Notes.

"The Constitution thus framed did not create a government of the people; its whole purpose was to promote and protect the rights of property more than the right of man."

## THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT.

From the formation of the Northern States, beginning in 1777 and ending in 1804, the slave trade increased its influence in the Union.

The slave traffic increased from 40,000 a year in 1820 to 200,000 in 1857. With the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, the annexation of Texas (1845) and the Fugitive Slave Law (1850) freedom was dead in America and the menace of slavery was increasing day after day.

Slavery and freedom could not abide together. The Fugitive Slave Law was disliked by the North and caused great trouble. This was a tyrannical and a monstrous law. A negro as a runaway slave had no right to a trial by jury and was without chance of escape. This law created intense and bitter feeling between the North and the South. It helped to intensify hatred and brought before the eyes of the people the odious aspect of the whole barbarous system of slavery. The people themselves began to stir and to combat this tyranny. The abolitionist movement was organized. The task was difficult but not hopeless. Many brave men sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the negro race.

In 1821 William Goodell and Benjamin Lundy began an antislavery press with the publication of two papers, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation" and "The Investigator." Then followed "Genius of Temperance" in 1830 and the "Emancipator" in 1833. William Lloyd Garrison, in 1831, supported by Arthur and Lewis Tappan established the "Liberator" in Boston. As soon as Garrison commenced the publication of the "Liberator" he received the honor of having a price set on his head by the Government of Georgia. Garrison condemned slavery as a crime and demanded unconditional abolition. He was a powerful and polished orator and hated slavery with a profound hatred. His writing was beyond question sharp and severe. In the first issue of the "Liberator," January 1st, 1831, he wrote: "No Union with murders and no rule by assassins. Liberty for each, for all, and forever.

"No person will rule over me with my consent. I will rule over no man. Enslave the liberty of but one human being and the liberties of the world are put in peril. When I look at these crowded thousands, and see them trample on their consciences and the rights of their fellowmen at the bidding of a piece of parchment, I say, my curse be on the Constitution of the United States. Why, sir, no freedom of speech or inquiry is conceded to me in this land. Am I not vehemently told both in the North and South that I have no right to meddle with the question of slavery? And my right to speak on any other subject, in opposition to public opinion, is equally denied me. I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as Truth, and as uncompromising as Justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. No! No!! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal and hasten the resurrection of the dead."

Garrison would make no compromise. He denounced the Government and the Church, with the motto: "Truth shall make us free". Garrison fought a just cause and to the shame of Boston he was mobbed in that city. The abolitionist movement gained ground after 1830. John Rankin formed an abolitionist society in Kentucky. The New England Antislavery Society and one in New York City were formed in 1832 and the American Antislavery Society resulted from the convention of the National Antislavery Society at Philadelphia in 1833.

The pioneers of the abolitionist movement in America were: W. Goodell, Benjamin Lundy, Charles Sumner, Hutchinson, James G. Birney, Stephen Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Nathaniel Peabody Roger (Editor of the Herald of Freedom), Nathaniel Allen, Erastus Brown, Attorney Carleton, Frederick Douglass, Thomas P. Beach, Jesse P. Harriman, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Horace Greeley (Editor New York Tribune), Henry Ward

Beecher, Lydia Maria Child, Susan B. Anthony. Among the poets and literary folk we find these names prominent in the abolitionist movement: W. H. Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry D. Thoreau, T. W. Whitley; Lowell, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier and Whitman.

The beginning of the abolitionist movement was marked by atrocities. The agitators would not compromise with the ruling class. Again, to the shame of Boston, Wendell Phillips, like William Lloyd Garrison, was mobbed in the same city and Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed by a pro-slavery mob in Alton, Illinois.

Abolitionists were flogged and killed by ministers of the gospel; their meetings were frequently interrupted; mayors refused them permission to speak in the streets and preachers denied them the privilege of the churches.

The church did everything to help the cause of the slave-owners, and was very aggressive in its fight against the abolitionist movement.

The proof of this is contained in the following evidence culled from many historical sources:

From the "Herald of Freedom" by Stephen S. Foster, January 15, 1842. "When I dare look on my shattered form, I sometimes think prisons will be needed for me but little longer. Within the last fifteen months four times they have opened their small cells for my reception. Twenty-four times have my countrymen dragged me from their temples of worship, and twice they have thrown me with great violence from the second story of their buildings, careless of consequences. Once in a Baptist meeting house they gave me an evangelical kick in the side, which left me for weeks an invalid. Times out of memory have they broken up my meetings with violence, and hunted me with brick-bats and bad eggs. Once in the name of outraged law and justice have they attempted to put me in irons; twice have they punished me with fine for preaching the gospel; once in a mob of two thousand people have they deliberately attempted to murder me, and were foiled in their designs only after inflicting some twenty blows on my head, face and neck, by the heroism of a brave and noble woman."

During the trying days of Lincoln's administration the clergy of the South met in Atlanta, Georgia, and passed strong resolutions endorsing slavery. In reply to them Abraham Lincoln said: "Slavery will not be abolished till

the last ecclesiastical law is repealed. The southern clergy issued several publications among them two: *The Bible Defense of Slavery* and *the Scriptural View in Favor of Slavery*."

Bishop Hedding declared that the anti-slavery agitation was in direct antagonism to the Lord, and further held: "The right to hold slaves is founded on this rule—'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' " Bishop Hedding might have quoted from the same Bible where it says: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." (Genesis ix, 25). "Of the children of the strangers that sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy. They shall be your bondmen forever; but over your brethren, the Children of Israel, ye shall not rule over one another with rigor." (Leviticus xxv, 45,46). "I will sell your sons and daughters into the hands of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people afar off, the Lord hath spoken it." (Joel iii, 8).

Reverend R. N. Anderson, of Virginia, wrote to the sessions of the Presbyterian Congregation within the bounds of the West Hanover Presbiter: "If there be any stray goat of a minister among you, tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects."

Reverend T. S. Witherspoon, of Alabama, wrote to the "Emancipator": "When the tardy process of the law is too long in redressing our grievances, we of the South have adopted the summary remedy of Judge Lynch; and really, I think it is one of the most wholesome and salutary remedies for the malady of Northern fanaticism that can be applied. I go to the Bible for my warrant in all moral matters. Let your emissaries dare to venture to cross the Potomac, and I cannot promise you that their fate will be less than Haman's."

The learned Bishop of Vermont gave divine sanction to slavery with the following comment: "The slavery of the negro race appears to me to be fully authorized both in the Old and the New Testament."

Dr. Thorwell, one of the leading Presbyterian divines of the South, commented in this manner: "The triumph of

Lincoln's principles is the death-knell of slavery. Let us crush the serpent in the egg."

Reverend W. S. Plum, of Richmond, Virginia, made this statement regarding the Abolitionists: "Let them understand that they will be caught (lynched) if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way."

The Reverend Dr. Smythe, of Charleston, South Carolina, is recorded as saying: "The war is a war against slavery, and is therefore treasonable rebellion against the Word, Providence and Government of God."

In the year 1854, Robert A. Fair, Esq., delivered an address before the Abbeville, South Carolina District Bible Society. Mr. Fair spoke on the subject of "The Christian duty of placing the Bible in the hands of the negro, and teaching him to read it." Some of the most interesting passages from that discourse have important bearings on the question of slavery: "If the teaching of the holy writ were at war with the institutions of slavery, and we were struggling to maintain it in opposition to those teachings; or if the proposition were to put the slave in possession of a knowledge of the arts and sciences—to confer a high degree of intellectual culture—fully to educate him, we might be disposed to yield the point. But how stands the case? Why, that the teachings of the Bible are not only not unfriendly to the institution of slavery, but that in those teachings the institution is most amply recognized. It is upon them that we triumphantly rest its defence. We would not be startled at the announcement of the fact, that two-thirds of our slave population do not know or believe that the subject of slavery, or their condition is alluded to in the Bible; that two-thirds of them are ignorant of the authority by which we essay to hold them in bondage, or demand their obedience and service. To such how galling is the yoke! How bitter is the bondage!"

In the State of Virginia, the land of whips, chains and hot branding irons, in the year 1849 a law was enacted making it criminal to teach any slave to read and write. Margaret Douglass was found guilty of violating that law. Her principal crime was to read the catechism and the New Testament to some colored children.

The hanging of negroes was not enough and to give them a severe punishment, the State of Maryland, in the year 1729 enacted the following law: "The slave shall first

have the right hand cut off, then be hanged in the usual manner; the head be severed from the body, the body be divided into four quarters, and the head and quarters be set up in the most public places of the county where such act was committed."

Dr. Shannon, an eminent Bible authority, wrote an argument in favor of slavery: "Thus did Jehovah stereotype his approbation of domestic slavery, by incorporating it with the institutions of the Jewish religion, the only religion on earth that had the divine sanction."

Reverend Alexander Campbell, Editor of the *Millennial Harbinger*, wrote thus: "Is the simple relation of master and slave necessarily and essentially immoral and unchristian, as that example of the adulterer and adultress? We are clearly and satisfactorily convinced it is not. It would be in our most calm and deliberate judgment, a sin against every dispensation religion, Patriarchal, Jewish and Christian, to suppose that the relationship of master and slave was, in its very nature and being, a sin against God and man. There is not one verse in the Bible inhibiting slavery, but many regulating. It is not, then, we conclude, immoral.

"The discipline of the church is the only discipline under which Christian slaves can be placed by Christian masters. If they will not faithfully serve their Christian masters, who 'partake of the benefit' of their labor, then are they, after proper instruction and admonition, to be separated from the church and to be put under whatever other discipline a Christian master under the existing laws of the state, may inflict."

John Randolph, of Kansas, denied that negroes had souls any more than horses or oxen.

In North Carolina it was a crime to teach a slave to read and any violator was punished with thirty-nine lashes. The law read in part: "That teaching slaves to read and write tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds and to produce insurrection and rebellion."

An extract from a sermon published in South Carolina by the Society for the Advancement of Christianity, an organization made up of clergymen: "No man (nor set) of men in our day, unless they can produce a new revelation from heaven, are entitled to pronounce slavery wrong.

Slavery, as it exists at the present day, is agreeable to the order of Divine Providence."

A resolution from the Southern Methodist Conference is as follows: "Resolved, that this conference disclaim any fellowship with Abolitionism. On the contrary, while it is determined to maintain its well know and long established position, by keeping the traveling preachers composing its own body, free from slavery, it is also determined not to hold connection with any ecclesiastical body that shall make non-slaveholding a condition of membership in the church; but to stand by and maintain the discipline as it is."

Moses Stuart of Andover Theological Seminary set forth his views of American slavery. He wrote: "Slavery may exist without any violation of the Christian faith." This statement was further elaborated by the Reverend Wilbur Fish, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University in Connecticut: "This doctrine of Professor Stuart will stand, because it is the Bible doctrine. The relation of master and slave, may and does, in many cases under such circumstances as frees the master from the just charge and guilt of immorality. The New Testament enjoins obedience upon the slave as an obligation due to a present rightful authority."

In 1840, the general conference of the Methodists adopted the following resolution: "That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons, in any state where they are denied that privilege by law."

The following advertisement from the Charleston, South Carolina Courier for February 12, 1835, gives a very vivid impression of the times. "FIELD NEGROES. By Thomas Gladden, on Tuesday, the 17th inst., will be sold at the north of the Exchange, at 10 o'clock A. M. A prime gang of Ten Negroes, accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, belonging to the Independent Church, in Christ's church parish. February 6, 1835."

In the same city the post office was invaded by a mob and the anti-slavery publications were burned with the sanction of the clergy. The Charleston Courier reported the matter thus: "The clergy of all denominations attended in a body, lending their sanction to the proceedings, and adding by their presence to the impressive character of the scene. The following resolution was adopted: 'That the thanks of this meeting are due to the reverend gentlemen of the clergy

of this city, who have so promptly and effectually responded to public sentiment, by suspending their schools in which the free colored population were taught; and that this meeting deems it a patriotic action, worthy of all praise and proper to be imitated by other teachers of similar schools throughout the state."

Dr. Nelson, formerly a slave-holder, said: "I have been intimately acquainted with the religious opportunities of slaves in the constant habit of hearing the sermons which are preached to them. And I solemnly affirm, that during the forty years of my residence and observation in this line, I never heard a single one of these sermons that was not taken up with the obligations and duties of slaves to their masters. Indeed, I never heard a sermon to slaves but what made obedience to masters by the slaves, the fundamental and supreme law of religion." (From Pillsbury's "The Church as it is '81.")

The Association of Ministers and Messengers, assembled at Free Union, Virginia, resolved: "That we consider our right and title to this property (slaves) altogether legal and bona fide, and that it is a breach of the faith, pledged in the Federal Constitution, for our Northern brethren to try, either directly or indirectly, to lessen the value of this property or impair our title thereto. That we view the torch of the incendiary and the dagger of the mid-night assassin loosely concealed under the specious garb of humanity and religion so-called."

Reverend Lucius Bolles, D. D., of Massachusetts, Corresponding Secretary, Board of Foreign Missions, said in 1834: "There is a pleasing degree of union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists throughout the land. Our Southern brethren are generally, both ministers and people, slave-holders." (Birney, "American Churches," p. 30 to 32.)

Early in 1863 the religious bodies of the entire South united and issued an address to the Christians of the entire world: "The recent proclamation of the President of the United States, seeking the emancipation of the slaves of the South, is in our judgment an occasion for solemn protest on the part of the people of God."

The "Washington Telegraph" exclaims as follows: "As a man, a Christian and a citizen, we believe that slavery is right; that the condition of the slave-holding states is the best existing organization of civil society."

The "New York Evangelist" in 1847 said: "To the shame of the Church it must be spoken, the foremost men of some of our philanthropic movements, in the interpretation of the spirit of the age, in the practical application of Christianity, in the reformation of abuses, in the vindication of the rights of man, are men who make no profession, and whom we have no reason to believe to be experimentally acquainted with Christianity. The Church has pusillanimously left not only the working oar, but the very reins of certain necessary reforms of the day, in the hands of men, who, if not before inimical to Christianity, will be made so by Christianity's neglect of what is its proper mission to look after. They are doing practically with all their might, for humanity's sake, what the Church ought to be doing as heartily through its ministry and representative men for Christ's sake. And if they succeed, as succeed they will, in abolishing slavery, in banishing intemperance, in killing war, in restraining intemperance, in reforming social abuses, then the recoil upon Christianity, the antagonistic reaction from these Christianized sensibilities upon the cause of religion itself, will be disastrous in the extreme. Woe be to religion when irreligious men, by force of nature, or the tendency of the age, get ahead of the Church in morals and the practical work of Christianity. In some instances they are already a long way ahead. And we might specify individuals and journals in this country that are far before the recognized organs of the Church in the advocacy of truth, righteousness and liberty."

In reporting the meeting of the National Foreign Missionary Organization of the Baptist Church, the "Biblical Record and Southern Watchman" in 1841 said: "Our meetings were truly delightful. The spirit of the gospel prevailed and gave a tremendous shock to the abolitionist. All of our principal men are sound to the core on this vexed question."

The Reverend Jonathan Davis of Boston, Massachusetts, on May 23, 1841, wrote a letter to one of his friends as follows: "It is proper for me to state that the mass of our brethren, both in Philadelphia and New York are opposed to Abolition, as now understood by that term, and are for no other measure than colonization. This has been the week of their anniversaries here and I suppose there has been not less than a hundred and fifty Baptists ministers, old and

young; and what I rejoiced to find was that the abolitionists among them were a small majority. I was invited on every hand to pulpits, and am even entreated to deliver addresses on this particular subject, in various parts of the country."

The New School Church at Petersburg, Virginia, resolved in 1838 that God had recognized the relation of master and slave, and that slavery was not a sin against Him. Also the New School General Assembly in 1843 resolved: "That this Assembly does not think it for the edification of the Church for this body to take any action on the subject of slavery." During the session of the Assembly Reverend Dr. Hill of Virginia declared that some abolitionists had been lynched, and was met with this response: "They were served right."

Parker Pillsbury, a noted abolitionist, said: "Slavery was a sin and crime of the north as well as the south. It was sustained by the government, it was sanctified by almost the whole religion of the nation." In 1841 Pillsbury wrote a letter to Stephen Foster in which he said: "If we scourged a pro-slavery clergy and church with whips last year, let us this year lay on with scorpions. Let us make every hold of spiritual tyranny send up its death shriek as we flash down the lightning of eternal truth, and roll its thunders among its darkest, deepest caverns. Let us write Tekel over every pro-slavery pulpit in characters of flaming fire, until the knees of every reverend Belshazzar who sits enthroned on it shall smite together. Armed with the truth we shall be omnipotent; and the hour has come. The groans of our three million bondmen have pierced the heavens, and the arms of the Almighty is made bare as of old, for deliverance. "We are prepared to be scandalized as infidels, and reviled as the enemies of man and God. To the popular prevailing religion we are infidels, and mean to be. Woe to such as are not! The pulpit of our land saith in its heart: 'There is no God.'" It is corrupt. It has done abominable wickedness, and so has the church, which is its own handiwork. Our religious institutions have made themselves the bodyguard of slavery. We cannot come at the monster but through them. Let us not mistake; a pro-slavery religion must be hunted out of the land; too long it has cursed the earth. It has delighted in blood and tears; it has fattened on human misery. It has extorted groans and wailings from countless victims, but its own hour has come!"

The churches' attitude in the matter is very clearly

shown by a headline which appeared in the Herald of Freedom, July 22d, 1842. It read as follows: "Beach and Foster Imprisoned by the Church." Thomas P. Beach, one of the men mentioned, was an antislavery lecturer. After which he was beaten, and imprisoned through church instigation. From the Salem jail he wrote: "I will not stop to argue about the brutal and criminal methods of the clergy. Every instinct of my humanity, or anybody's, will sharply rebuke the cowardly, quivering spirit that should moot this query and respond to it. Is it right to speak for enslaved, crushed humanity any where? Right to speak in God's house for three hundred new-born babes, daily sacrificed to the Moloch of Slavery? Right to echo the prayer of three hundred and fifty thousands of women, members of nominal churches, that they may be delivered from the lust, violence, and degradation to which a man-stealing church and clergy have reduced them! Right to stand on the threshold of the sanctuary and cry in the ear of the dozing priest and deacon, thus guilty in fellowshiping hell itself as a Christian institution; to beseech them to lift their heel from the neck of my wife, brother, sister, mother! Right to cry robber, adulterer, murderer, in the ear of the church that buys, sells and enslaves God's own image; that sells Jesus Christ at auction, and then declare they have not violated the Christian faith! O, Shame, where is thy blush? O, Spirit of 1835 and '37, where art thou? Does fear with thy courage or startle thee from thy high purpose to deliver the slave, at all hazards? Has law or desire for applause enervated thy power or scattered those rays that once came flashing, burning from thine eyes? O, if the state could have enough of this work to do, it would soon be sick of supporting the victims of church malice and sectarian hate! I want company here, I wish every jail in Massachusetts and New Hampshire filled with those who have boldness enough to go and charge upon these God dishonoring corporations, not only all the guilt, for the tears, stripes, groans and degradation of the slave, but also for the bolting and barring of every prison door, the beheading and strangling of every criminal and culprit in the land, together with all the blood shed, from Abel down to the present hour. I am in this prison for attempting to exercise speech freely as a man. I felt called upon to open my mouth for the slave, in places where professing Christians meet to

worship. Should I not obey that call? Am I a man, and may I not speak when I think, and feel that I ought to speak? Why am I made with the organs of utterance and capacities for thought and conviction if all may be controlled by the power of others? Why have I sympathies for my suffering kind if I may not let them flow out?

"I spoke for the slave on my humanity's motion, and at the bidding of God, and I am here for it. Well, I will bear it as becomes a man. But let me tell my incarcerators, they commit a mighty mistake when they imprison a nature that knows how to endure privation like this.

"I am a prisoner, but no matter it is experience—an invaluable teacher. I am an abolitionist, now, and can remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.

"Oh, the crime of making slaves of human beings! Of keeping them slaves! Oh, the responsibility which lies on this Christendom! Oh, the crime of professing godliness, and keeping humanity in slavery! This is the crime of the churches. Oh, the awful crime against God and man of assuming a priesthood, pretending to be Christian, and using its mighty influence to perpetuate human enslavement and hinder a movement for its overthrow!

"Speech, glorious organ of reform among men, will it ever be free? Free, it would work wonders. Free, men and women would then speak like God. Now speech is enchained. Men speak as they would walk, in fetter, and they look as they speak. The human look is covered and brought down, and all human action seems constrained and servile."

Parker Pillsbury was a member of the Suffolk North Association of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, and was expelled from that organization for exposing the scandal of the clergy's support of slavery. He wrote a letter to the Suffolk North Association of Divines in which he said: "I have the best evidence to show that the clergy, as a body, are determined to sustain each other in the crusade against the advocates of the rights of our enslaved fellow men. The great body of the clergy in this state have been deadly hostile to anything like efficient action for the overthrow of slavery. I need not tell you that I have been compelled to excommunicate from my fellowship, most of the ministers of our land for the sin of conniving at American slavery. I regret to be compelled to add that even the Suffolk North Association of Ministers are no exception; nor

can I recognize them as vested with any authority to decide who shall, or shall not be licensed to preach the gospel. You have shown yourselves in various ways, to be the friends of the southern oppressor, rather than of the oppressed. You have done well for the heathen abroad, perhaps, but have neglected three millions of heathen at the doors of your own sanctuaries. Most of you oppose directly, the agitation of the subject of slavery, in any manner, among your people. You are in full fellowship and communion with the slaveholding ministers of the South and their more guilty apologists in the North.

"For ten years we have been laboring to awaken an interest in the churches in behalf of the bleeding slave. Labor enough has been done in New England to have made every church, as a church, the inflexible foe of oppression, as it exists at the south, had it not been for this mighty opposition that has been constantly thrown in the way by the pulpit. It has to be a mere truism that the firmest pillars of the bloody Moloch are the professed ministers of Jesus Christ; and in no part of these states have those ministers shown themselves more subservient to the will of slave-breeding and slave-holding ministers and others, than in Boston and vicinity. With your blood stained feet on the necks of three millions of your prostrate brethren, you are deliberately talking of "censure" and "resumption" of my "license," because I have faithfully espoused their cause!

"Recreant should I be to the interest of My Redeemer's kingdom, to recognize such men as ministers of Christ. I know full well how the warning will be received; but still I warn you to repent. God has a controversy with you on this awful sin of enslaving millions of immortal human beings as yourselves, compelling them into absolute heathenism, concubinage, adultery; robbing them of everything, wives, children, all the endearing relations of life, manhood, womanhood, with all else only to gratify the cupidity of an unrighteous and cruel master—blood. Your Christianity has less of humanity in it than has the religion of the Seminole savage! he befriends the slave and welcomes him to his wigwam; you, or most of you, are deaf as adders to his woe. Search the heathen world, ancient and modern; you shall look in vain for a system of greater abomination, more horrible cruelties than American slavery; and yet you

baptize and sanctify it, and admit it to full sacramental communion and fellowship.

"The ancient Romans with hearts of steel, had their god of war; the ferocious Vandal had his god of vengeance; but none of their high places ever showed an altar to the fell demon of slavery. Never did the Nine Sisters hold fond dalliance with a fiend so foul; never was Apollo's golden lyre tuned to his praise; never did the wild harp of northern minstrelsy in all its long buried melodies, indite one hymn to the blood swollen vampire. Never was an altar reared to such divinity till the Christian slave chain was forged, and the Christian coffin formed; till torturing evangelical thumb-screws were invented, and human flesh had hissed and broiled beneath the red-hot branding iron, and the one eternal God, in the person of his children, his own image and likeness, was bought and sold in the shambles with the beasts that perish.

"And now you, grave and venerable ministers, demand of me to fall down and reverence and worship your blood-besmeared idol on pain of "censure" or "resumption of the license" with which you invested me as a preacher of the gospel; and as logical consequence, expulsion from the church on earth, and the society of the redeemed in heaven! Brethren, you know you cannot deny what I say.

"For three hundred years, your Christianity has been tearing at the vitals of Africa, like vultures snatching away from her bosom her poor sons and daughters in myriads, to supply the Christian slave-market of this and other nations. Her wailing has been borne on the trade-winds, on all the winds, to the ends of the earth. And yet to this hour, doctors of divinity dare doubt, dare openly deny that slavery is sin! and even such as feign to believe in sin make themselves, by a strange silence or open connivance, more guilty if possible, or certainly more dangerous, than those who deny or doubt.

"I repeat my denial that what is taught and professed by the great body of Clergy in this nation as Christianity is not Christianity at all. I confine myself wholly in this letter to slavery. To American chattel slavery. There are other accounts to be considered when slavery is overthrown. Let your intimated "censure" and "resumption of license" be carried into full execution. I shall preach the gospel of

Christ, and by his grace wash my hands from all participation in your guilt on the awful crimes and cruelties of slavery."

From Packard's "Grant's Tour", page 566, we learn that General Grant, the hero of our civil war, regarded the clergy as meddlesome fanatics and allies of deception and ignorance, and the most dangerous enemy with which a nation can contend."

In spite of the church's criminal opposition, in spite of the organized mob, the abolitionist movement gained territory and John Brown came to arouse a slave insurrection in the South. In the autumn of 1859 he seized the national arsenal at Harper's Ferry and began to free the slaves. He hoped with this action to force the emancipation of the slaves and make his name a terror in the hearts of the mercenary slave-traders. Cossacks were soon hurried and in the name of Christianity Brown was defeated and captured with several others. Brought to trial he was convicted and sentenced to die, by Judge J. B. O'Neale.

As soon as John Brown was hanged the whole country was stirred by this tragedy. The dreadful case created sorrow in every man's heart with the exception of the clergy. In protest against the atrocious sentence Lydia Maria Child wrote her famous message to Governor Wise of Virginia. Mrs. Child's protest was published in pamphlet form, and hundreds of thousands of copies were sold.

To help the abolitionist's cause a noble woman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, in protesting against the Fugitive Slave Law in 1852 published "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a story which gave a mortal blow to slavery, and the tyrannical institution of black slavery fell.

## CIVIL WAR.

The civil war like any other was fought by the workers for the interest of the capitalist class. "Once open hostility had begun, the actual fighting was carried on as it has been carried on in all wars, at least, since private property began, by those who did the work and had no interest in the outcome." ("Class Struggle in America," A. M. Simons.)

"The workers never had anything in common with the ruling class, in any war, which is the fountain of gold for the masters' class and of poverty for the toilers.

"Wars have been waged for conquest, for plunder. In the middle ages the feudal lords, who inhabited the castles whose towers may still be seen along the Rhine—whenever one of these feudal lords wished to enrich himself, then he made war on the other. Why? They wanted to enlarge their domains. They wanted to increase their power, their wealth, and so they declared war upon each other. But they did not go to war any more than the Wall Street Junkers go to war. (Applause.) The feudal lords, the barons, the economic predecessors of the modern capitalist, they declared all wars. Who fought their battles? Their miserable serfs. And the serfs had been taught to believe that when their masters declared and waged war upon one another, it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another, and to cut one another's throats, to murder one another for the profit and the glory of the plutocrats, the barons, the lords, who held them in contempt. And that is war in a nut-shell.

"The master class has always declared war; the subject class has always fought the battles; the master class has had all to gain, and nothing to lose, and the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—including their lives. (Applause.) They have always taught that it is your patriotic duty to go to war and to have yourselves slaughtered at command.

"But in all history of the world you, the people, never had a voice in declaring war. You have never yet had. And here let me state a fact—and it cannot be repeated too often: the working class who fight the battles, the working class who make the sacrifices, the working class who shed the blood, the working class have never yet had a voice in declaring war. The working class have never yet had a voice in making peace. It is the ruling class that does both. They declare war; they make peace.

'Yours not to question why;  
Yours but to do and die.'

(Canton Speech, Eugene V. Debs, June 16th, 1918.)

It is a well proven historical fact that it was not the desire of the Republican party to free the negroes, although it brought the Civil War.

A. M. Simons, in his work, "Class Struggle in America," tells us: "To say that the Republican party was organized, or the Civil War waged to abolish chattel slavery is but to

repeat a tale invented almost a decade after the war was closed, as a means of glorifying the party of plutocracy and maintaining its supremacy."

The protective tariff demanded by the northern capitalists and opposed by the southern slave traders was the cause of the war. The northern capitalists were anxious to find a market for the produce of the farmers. The southerners fearing the raising of the cost of feeding their slaves, bitterly opposed the north expansion, discouraging railroad building and manufacture. The south had run the government with great profit made out of the slave trade and a portion of the profit was used in buying more slaves. That profit was in danger and when the north asked for a protective tariff the southern slave owners protested against that policy and asked for a free slave trade, to conquer more territory for King Cotton. The North refused to grant that privilege and the result was that the South seceded from the Union. Thus the tariff and not slavery was responsible for the Civil War.

The Republican congress was against the freedom of the negro slaves, and President Lincoln held identical views. In 1861 congress passed a joint resolution declaring against any interference with slavery. The northern capitalists, loyal to their class were in favor of perpetual slavery. They were willing to let the southern brothers retain the slaves, provided they would return to the Union.

The southern ruffians refused any compromises. "Mr. Lincoln's terms were conciliatory in the extreme. Had the South been moderate in its demand, he would have been classed with those statesmen who added compromise to compromise, and so postponed the evil but inevitable day. He was not an abolitionist. He offered to give them any guarantee they pleased—a constitutional amendment, if they desired it—that slavery as it stood should not be interfered with. He offered to bring in a more stringent law, by which their fugitive slaves should be restored. But on the matter of extension he was firm. The ultimatum was declined; the South seceded, and the North flew to arms, not to emancipate the negro, but to preserve the existence of the nation." ("Martyrdom of Man," Winwood Reade, p. 384-5.)

When the Civil War broke out it was the same old cry: Workers you must follow the flag. You must furnish your lives for cannon fodder. The workers followed the flag and

fought a war for the benefit of their rulers in defence of a barbaric economic system.

The southern ruling class (eight per cent) possessed slaves and wealth and the workers possessed two arms to work for them.

During the Civil War the workers marched to fight and die, while the capitalists availed themselves of the exemption clause by paying a small sum of money. Military service in the confederate army was voluntary for the rich and compulsory for the poor. After the fall of Fort Donnelson, the confederate congress passed an ordinance which exempted any slave trader who owned more than twenty slaves.

When Lincoln called for volunteers, the rich class failed to answer the call and when congress passed the draft act, John D. Rockefeller, Pierpont Morgan, Andrew Carnegie and Jay Gould with the remainder of their class were exempted from military duty. The workers did not gain anything from that struggle, but they lost the lives of their youth. Poor deluded workers! On the other hand the capitalist class was the only class to gain from that struggle.

Pierpont Morgan refused to fight and entered business by buying condemned rifles from the Government. He paid \$3.50 for each rifle and resold the same to the Government for \$22.50. The South lost the war and to repair the loss the confederate congress repudiated three hundred million dollars of debts owing the North.

The North was in peril of losing the war and to save their faces under the mask of love for the negro race, had to bow their heads and say: "To win the war, noble negro race, I give you freedom."

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Any cheap school history tells us about how great Lincoln was. For the capitalist class Lincoln was a great man, but for the workers he was a tyrant like any other.

Dietzgen speaking about historic names, in his "Philosophical Essays" said: "It is but a survival of the barbarian past to regard great historical names, not only as brilliant leaders, but also as demi-gods, though such opinions are still prevalent among many learned as well as ignorant men."

Lincoln, according to historical facts, was a strong pro-slavery man, as were, Washington, Madison and Hamilton.

"Lincoln had early put himself on record as opposed to slavery, but he was never technically an abolitionist. He allied himself rather with those who believed that slavery should be fought within the constitution. Though it could not be constitutionally interfered with in individual states it should be excluded from territory over which the national government had jurisdiction." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, p. 705.)

On March 4, 1861, the President was inaugurated at Washington. In his inaugural address, he said: "I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe that I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

Lincoln in answer to Horace Greeley, abolitionist and editor of the New York Tribune, replied to Greeley's appeal, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," with the following letter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON.

August 22d, 1862.

"Hon. Horace Greeley,  
Dear Sir:

I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the New York Tribune. If there be in it statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them. If there be any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

"As to the policy I seem to be pursuing, as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

"I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the 'Union as it was.' If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object

in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it, and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it would help to save this Union; and what I forbear doing, I forbear because I do not believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I here state my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft expressed personal wish that all men, everywhere, could be free.

Yours,

A. LINCOLN."

This letter makes clear that Lincoln was not inspired with the love of the negro when he declared war against the south. Wars arise from economic causes.

"Under a capitalist era, the principal causes of wars are not religious or national differences, but the economic antagonisms to which the ruling class of the different countries are driven by the mode of production. Just as the capitalist unceasingly sacrifices the life and the health of the workers on the battlefield of labor, he feels no scruple in making them shed their blood in view of the new profits to be obtained by the conquest of new openings.

"War is the fatal outcome of the actual economic conditions. It will but definitely disappear with the total disappearance of the capitalist order, the emancipation of labor and the international triumph of socialism." (From the Paris Socialist Congress of 1889.)

"War whatever its issue, is a rain of gold for the providers of card-board boot-soles or damaged meat, for the railway companies, for the bankers, who after the defeat negotiate loans of five million for indemnities, for the gun-makers and cartridge manufacturers who, during the war, unload their stocks, and who, once the war is finished, set to work to heap up new supplies improved in accordance with latest experience. What a gold mine patriotism is for the ruling classes; but also what a fool's trap for the people!" ("My Country Right or Wrong," Gustave Hervé, p. 112.)

## THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Slavery was finally abolished during the Civil War because the negro's emancipation could be utilized as a political whip by the north in its struggles against the rebel states. The confederate army fought, not to perpetuate the institution of slavery, but for the principle of states' rights. The Emancipation Proclamation was not issued until the middle of the Civil War and did not become effective in fact until Lee's surrender at Richmond. The north fought to perpetuate the union, rather than free the black man who filled the bread baskets of the rebel army.

Lincoln's cabinet was divided on the advisability of issuing the proclamation and it was only after months of delay and much bitter argument between the president's divided advisors that it was finally issued as a matter of political strategy, diplomatic expediency; an extreme measure to stiffen the morale of the disheartened northerners.

Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation as a last resort to break the morale of the south. He previously threatened to free the slaves (on paper) if the rebel troops did not yield by the first of January, 1862. But when this time came the troops of the confederacy were at the height of almost unbroken victories. The laurels of the first two years of war went nearly altogether to the dauntless and impetuous confederate champions of slavery and states' rights.

## LYNCH LAW.

The origin of the infamous Lynch Law is obscure. Different writers have attempted to trace it to Ireland, to England and to Russia. But it is the general belief that the name Lynch was derived from Charles Lynch, Virginia planter, who was born at Chestnut Hill, Va., in the year 1736, and died in 1796. He was a Justice of the Peace in Virginia after 1774 and in 1780, toward the close of the war for Independence, greatly increased his power by taking into his own hands the law and inflicting severe penalties in the punishment of Tories or Loyalists in Bedford County, Va.

Lynch was a zealous church member, a powerful man and a member of the Virginia Legislature. "In 1776 he was a delegate to the famous Virginia Convention and later in 1781, an officer in the American Army." (From "Real Judge Lynch," Atlantic Monthly, Volume XXXVIII, Boston, 1901.)

## THE LYNCHING.

By Claude McKay.

His spirit in smoke ascended to high heaven.  
 His father, by the cruelest way of pain,  
 Had bidden him to his bosom once again;  
 The awful sin remained still unforgiven.  
 All night a bright and solitary star  
 (Perchance the one that ever guided him,  
 Yet gave him up at last to Fate's wild whim.)  
 Hung pitifully o'er the swinging char.  
 Day dawned, and soon the mixed crowds came to view  
 The ghostly body swinging in the sun  
 The women thronged to look, but never a one  
 Showed sorrow in her eyes of steely blue;  
 And little lads, lynchers that were to be,  
 Danced round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee.

## THE SHAME OF AMERICA.

Since the introduction of this new cruelty, namely, lynching, negroes have been killed by hundreds. According to the latest statistics nearly 4000 persons have been lynched in the United States. The figures from 1892 to 1920 are as follows:

|      |     |                   |     |
|------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1892 | 293 | 1908              | 100 |
| 1895 | 171 | 1909              | 87  |
| 1896 | 131 | 1910              | 74  |
| 1897 | 106 | 1911              | 71  |
| 1898 | 127 | 1912              | 64  |
| 1899 | 107 | 1913              | 48  |
| 1900 | 115 | 1914              | 59  |
| 1901 | 135 | 1915              | 69  |
| 1902 | 96  | 1916              | 55  |
| 1903 | 104 | 1917              | 38  |
| 1904 | 87  | 1918              | 67  |
| 1905 | 66  | 1919              | 84  |
| 1906 | 60  | 1920 to Nov. 20th | 50  |
| 1907 | 63  |                   |     |

Included in the above table are the names of 83 women who suffered a like fate with the men. The figures are taken from the Chicago Daily News Year Book for 1921.

The Asian Review, speaking in protest against the burning of Henry Yowery at Nordena, Arkansas, in 1921, said: "It is an indelible stain on the name of America that, in this

enlightened age, such crimes should take place publicly and the offenders go unpunished. It goes to demonstrate the utter callousness of the heart of the American public. Lynching is possible in the United States because the spirit of America is in favor of it. If this were not true, this foul crime would never have grown to its present proportions nor would any of the more than three thousand lynchings during the past thirty-two years have taken place."

So without any serious attempt at interference, by the authorities, the unfortunate negroes have been and still are, upon the slightest provocation, barest suspicion or most superficial circumstantial evidence, lynched, hanged and even roasted alive. All this barbarism continued openly and unabated during the second decade of the twentieth century, amidst the cheers of the patriotic populace of professing Christians and the frenzied applause of the ignorant multitude. Stirred by the savage leadership of an uncouth, brutal ruling class, mobs are led to perpetrate the most barbarous and outrageous acts, often resulting in needless bloodshed and serious miscarriage of justice.

These conditions have apparently enjoyed the unqualified sanction of the factors that dominate the church and state for "Lynch Law" has been passively tolerated, if not openly encouraged and condoned for many years. Since the early days of Judge Lynch, no strenuous organized effort has been made, aside from some occasional and inconsequential local agitation, to terminate this disgraceful state of intermittent lawlessness, which still obtains in open defiance of justice, law and order.

These outrages recur from time to time apparently unhindered by civil or divine tribunals, especially throughout the south, at frequent intervals. Such a system of racial bigotry, camouflaging as justice, forces the blood in all honest men to boil in righteous indignation. We agree with the poet Henley who might well have said: "Under the bludgeonings of fate the black man's head is bloody but unbowed."

### THE CRIME OF THE CLERGY.

Why do not the clergy of America put an end to such unchristian practices? The ministry and church should be according to the holy book God's representative and servant.

When this hypocritical and theoretical supposition is abandoned, the clergy will then be seen by all the world in their true light, for what they really are and always have been; nothing more nor less than willing tools of the master class, to whom their real supplications, homage and support have always been loyally rendered.

Whether the priests and preachers of early colonial days were directly responsible for the origin of slavery in America, or whether they were merely indirectly or morally responsible, has been a problem of more than passing interest. The church either incurred direct responsibility by definite encouragement and participation in the nefarious traffic itself, or was simply indirectly responsible through passive condonation and subtly lending countenance to the business of buying and selling living human beings as though they were mere chattel. Through failing to actively oppose, denounce and fight this barbarous, unchristian practice at each step from its very inception, the clergy perpetrated one of the blackest crimes of omission of which we have historic record.

Indeed, upholders of the slave trade, in the pre-civil war days, went so far as to justify their human exploitation and profiteering in living beings, by pointing to the unquestioned precedent recorded in the Pentateuch and established their case by reference to the Mosaic code. To dispute the truth and authenticity of the scriptures when dealing with churchmen is to abandon all claims to sanity, decency and common sense, but the facts speak for themselves.

Slavery was justified by the clergy even before the discovery of America, upon the ground that it tended to Christianize the negro, subjecting him to the elevating (?), uplifting (?), and civilizing (?) influence of a superior (?) race. The slave trader never failed to pose (and doubtless believed himself to be) as a God-fearing, honorable citizen of unquestionable integrity and righteousness. He customarily occupied the front pews in the churches. And woe unto him who dared to cast reflections upon the sanctimonious, slave trader or upon the angelic purity of his calling.

True, it appears that no one ever ventured such preposterous reflections, with the possible exception of the German Quakers. But these were instantly branded, "ignorant

foreigners", totally bereft of all understanding of American ideals and institutions.

The failure of the churches, the clergy, ministry and priesthood to unhesitatingly, outspokenly and absolutely condemn the principle, institution and trade of slavery at the very outset, was responsible for the traffic. That responsibility of the clergy for much of the subsequent suffering of the negro race, is obvious. That it was a ghastly crime of omission, a crime of the clergy, cannot be denied.

## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CLERGY.

The clergy is responsible for many of the atrocities with which the monopolizing master class have defied all codes of righteousness and stained with innocent blood the soil of America. Read the daily press reports of the cowardly abuse, prejudice, lawlessness, discrimination and maltreatment of the American negro in industry and politics today. All these crimes against negro citizens and laborers have their primary origin in the ignorance of the masses and the prostitution of the clergy, who are unwilling to expose, and often eager to support their vicious masters.

It has always been the historic mission of those that "wear the holy cloth" to keep the negro in subjection and in a perpetual state of religious, civic and economic subordination. We cannot find words sufficiently strong to express the horror which this monstrous business of slavery, once racial, now economic, arouses within us. If you read history without prejudice, with your senses alert, your vision clear and your mind neither colored and distorted by prejudice or bias, you will find the introduction of slavery one of the most brutal, wanton and atrocious events that ever stained the pages of American history. Even the treachery of the white man in his dealings with the American Indians; the robbery of the vast expanse of rich oil and mineral lands from Mexico under the subterfuge of patriotism, (a crude cloak to camouflage the truly vicious greed of an avaricious people, intoxicated with their own sense of power, might and grandeur) is not excepted.

The clergy, representing the capitalist oppressor, has antagonized and persecuted the negro in every field of human

progress. The repeated campaigns that have aimed to incense public opinion against the negro people, were instigated and promoted by the clergy, with the support of the ruling class.

## THE PROSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY.

The aim of the clergy has ever been to keep the long suffering people of the negro race in darkness, ignorance and servitude. No careful student of history or discriminating spectator of life can doubt that the clergymen of today are but putty in the hands of the unproductive, exploiting, parasitic class whose begrudging contributions keep open the doors of the nearly empty churches. The clergy have always been one of the strongest tools of the moneyed class, one of capitalism's most corrupt weapons of offence and defence. Every preacher and priest, in a sense, is a special policeman who exerts his power unimpeded only so long as he serves the ruling class that doles out to him his more or less meager income from their unlimited wealth.

The more affluent you find a priest or minister to be, the more woefully corrupt he has probably been. The greater the luxury and ease in which a churchman may bask, the more reasonably certain you may be that he has unscrupulously prostituted his talents and shamefully sold his birthright, ideals and principles for the "mess of pottage," with which capital ever rewards its good and faithful servants. The clergy have always been safely relied upon to support and protect the vicious economic exploiters of the weak and oppressed. Many of the clergy are quite as ignorant and sottish as their communicants and parishioners. In our estimation the clergy are at best but a gigantic army of idle fakers, swindling charlatans and vicious loafers. An honorable profession indeed!

The priest and the preacher represent a class which are indirectly responsible for the spilling of innocent blood. They use the vast treasures and resources of the church to fight in the ranks of capital against the producers in the struggle for economic justice. In spite of the gigantic conspiracy of centuries, based on hypocritical and camouflaged "faith", the fabric of superstition upon which religion rests is crumbling before the triumphant advances of modern science and the light of truth. As a conclusive proof of the responsi-

bility of the clergy for the institution of slavery, and as damning evidence of the fact that the forces of the church were wantonly prostituted to serve the most fiendish purposes, during the civil war days, and that the overwhelming majority of the clergy were ranged against President Lincoln, in alliance with the devilish capitalistic forces that were striving to perpetuate the bondage and exploitation of the black man, we submit the following quotation from Abraham Lincoln, himself, in his famous address on "The Church and Ministers."

"The United States Government must not undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church, or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest he must be checked.

"I am approached with the most opposite opinion and advice, and by religious men who are certain they represent the Divine Will. I hope it will not be irreverent in me to say, that if it be probable that God would reveal his will to others, on a point connected with my duty, it might be supposed that he would reveal it directly to me.

"Here are twenty-three ministers of different denominations, and all of them are against me but three; and here are a great many prominent members of the churches, a very large majority of whom are against me. All the powers of the earth seem rapidly combining against him (the negro). Mammon is after him—and the theology of the day is fast joining the cry.

"Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask God's assistance in wringing his bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us 'judge not, that we be not judged'. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully.

"Politicians are a set of men who have interests aside from the interests of the people and who, most of them at any rate are, taken as a mass, at least one long step from honest men. If the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers. When a white man governs himself, that is self government. But when he governs himself and

also governs some other men, that is worse than self-government,—that is despotism. What I do mean to say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.

“This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Wherever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right way of amending it. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?”

These immortal words of President Lincoln show clearly and conclusively, not only where he stood on the principle and problem of slavery, but also where the church and the clergy of the time stood and with which side their influence was thrown in the great fight to emancipate the negroes.

## AMERICA.

By Claude McKay.

Although she feeds me bread of bitterness,  
And sinks into my throat her tiger's tooth,  
Stealing my breath of life, I will confess  
I love this culture's hell that tests my youth!  
Her vigor flows like tides into my blood,  
Giving me strength erect against her hate,  
Her bigness sweeps my being like a flood.  
Yet as a rebel fronts a king in state,  
I stand within her walls with not a shred  
Of terror, malice, not a word of jeer.  
Darkly I gaze into the days ahead,  
And see her might and granite wonders there,  
Beneath the touch of Time's unerring hand,  
Like priceless treasures sinking in the sand.

## LIBERTY AND FREEDOM.

The writer, a native of Italy, pronounces it a paradox of destiny, the height of ridiculous sarcasm that a country responsible for such atrocities as the wholesale enslavement of a people, the economic exploitation of a race, as well as for frequent lynchings of negro suspects, without orderly pro-

cedure or trial by jury, should still be called "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave."

How can the United States be designated as "The Cradle of Liberty" when it stands convicted of the most nefarious plundering of the red men and Mexicans as well as the most infamous cruelties toward the negro race and the systematic exploitation of its millions of producers and honest toilers by the parasitic idle rich.

The ruling class in America from 1860 to 1880 saw the necessity of having strong support from the clergy and the church, hence they compelled the negroes, whether they would or no, to affiliate with so-called Christian churches. This was more barbarous than the practice of the early Ottoman Turk, who spread acceptance and allegiance to Mohammed as "Prophet of God, Defender of the Faithful", by fire and sword. It was feared, should the persecutions against the colored race cease, and the negro be allowed to go his way in peace; to educate his children, he might rise against the despotic rule of the tyrants. The fear was spread from the pulpit and the press that should the negro ever be granted political liberty and civil freedom, conditions would eventually and inevitably arise that would bring about the destruction of the white man's prosperity, property and power, if not the race itself in America.

## ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION.

The spread of education and enlightenment has slowly but surely marked the doom of religion and capital. With the dispelling of the clouds of dogma, bigotry, intolerance and hypocrisy from the minds of the workers, religious autocracy has lost its power. In this great struggle of the centuries, capital and clergy are ranged against the champions of the individual's political, civic, religious and economic freedom. No more faith in divine religion, however, can be again successfully forced upon the now awakened working class. It is knowledge, not faith, that the workers demand. Proof not promises! Economic justice here and now is that on which the producers of the world insist—not religious salvation in the sweet by and by! In these days of the great class-conscious awakening of the workers, the negro in common with his numberless white fellow toilers, is

beginning to think and act for himself, with clear vision and logical reasoning faculties, stimulated by a gnawing hunger for justice that will not be denied and an insatiable craving for knowledge and truth with which to replace superstition, suppositions and speculative theories of the past. The toilers demand freedom and liberty in the place of the thralldom, peonage, serfdom and economic slavery that has been their lot throughout the ages.

Forward, negroes, forward! Your racial emancipation may be partially won, but your economic emancipation through the great class struggle that is going on all about you, has but begun. You must advance from victory on to victory until full recognition and equality with your white fellow-workers is ultimately attained and the old dark days of race hatred, oppression and persecution have been replaced with the resplendent light of universal brotherly love and the stimulating glow of the new economic freedom that is to come. In spite of difficulties, and obstacles, the workers of all races, nations, colors, creeds and castes, must march on, a unified, solidified, invulnerable host, until the earth is cleared of tyranny and the chains of racial, social, civic, religious, economic and industrial slavery are relegated where they belong, to the archaic, outgrown, discarded past.

The possibilities of the future can be estimated by the progress we have made in the last seventy years. Samuel W. Ball in reviewing the past says:

"In its day negro slavery was an institution sanctioned by law and ethics. It was justified by the school, the church and the state. Both the dominant thought of the age and the physical arm of the state were relied upon to defend this institution, now regarded as a disgrace and a blot upon the fair fame of our beloved country. Christians now deplore as a series of grievous blunders, the inquisition that once tortured and burned at the stake the unbelieving thinker, or hanged on Gallows Hill witches and dissenters of the early church. It is only recently that Joan of Arc, martyred heretic, has been sainted by the Catholic church. A whole library of history could be written, showing the evolution in men's ideas of what constitutes crime and proper punishment, and in the corresponding ideas of what is worthy, admirable and righteous.

"The criminals of yesterday are the heroes of today. John Brown who was legally executed, William Lloyd Garrison

who was mobbed and dragged through the streets with a rope around his neck, Lovejoy who was slain as an enemy of sanctioned institutions, are now commemorated in halls of fame. Other institutions existing today are rapidly coming into the same disrepute in which negro slavery has been held since the days of its gallant opposers."

### "EDUCATIONAL CALL."

Ye sons of labor, arise from pollution;  
Arise for the Social Revolution;  
Arise with education; enemy of might  
For labor's emancipation and right.

Ring, Bells of revolution, ring  
Throughout a world of suffering,  
'Till thy echoes resound, loud and clear  
Hastening Capital's downfall here.

Arise ye slaves of land and sea;  
Raise the workers' brave flag fervently;  
Wave the torch of freedom and liberty;  
Arise to thy death,—or victory.

Education and solidarity, our charm  
For a better future, safe from alarm,  
In a world where freedom from tyranny  
Shall reward our struggle to be free.

A world free from poverty, exploitation and strife,  
Industrial oppression and grim prison life;  
A world free from the tyrant greed;  
With producers triumphant industrially freed.

### RAPID SPREAD AND INCREASE OF NEGRO POPULATION IN AMERICA.

Since the civil war the negro race in America has nearly tripled in population. In 1860 there were 4,442,830 blacks in the United States. Only 488,070 of these were free. In 1870 the census reports show 4,880,009 free negroes in

America. The 1880 census recorded 6,580,793 negroes residing within our borders. In 1890 the population was given as 7,488,788. By 1900 it had risen to 8,840,789, and in 1910 the population of the blacks in the United States came very close to the ten million mark, the total being 9,828,294. The latest census report, that of 1920, shows a negro population of over 10,163,013, approximately 11% of the total population, or an increase of approximately 120% in 50 years. The white population of the United States in 1880 was 43,402,970; by 1890, 55,101,258; for 1900, 66,809,196; for 1910, 81,731,957; for 1920, 94,820,915. Less than 57,000,000 were immigrants. This steady influx of immigration alone is all that enables the white population to maintain their racial supremacy through proportionate increase in total population. What the whites lose by a proportionate comparison of the birth rates of the races, they must balance by immigration or soon be outnumbered.

## NEGRO CENTER OF POPULATION.

A press dispatch from Washington, October 11th, 1922, states: "The Department of Commerce announced today that the center of negro population as determined by the Bureau of Census on the basis of the fourteenth census enumeration is located in the extreme northwestern corner of Georgia, in Dade County, about one and three-quarter miles north-northeast of the town of Rising Fawn, in latitude 34 degrees, 46 minutes, 52 seconds and longitude 85 degrees, 30 minutes, 48 seconds.

For the first time in history this center has moved north-east, being approximately 9.4 miles further east and 19.4 miles further south in 1920 than it was in 1910. The former movements have been in a southeasterly direction. In 1790 it was located 25 miles west-southwest of Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Va., and one hundred years later, in 1890, it had moved southwest 463 miles to a point 15.7 miles southwest of Lafayette, Walker County, Georgia. Between 1890 and 1900 it crossed the state line into Alabama, its location in 1900, and again in 1910 to DeKalb County, Alabama. Its northwestward movement after 1910 has brought it back to Georgia. The department's review made the following comment on the case of the movement:

"The northeasterly movement of the center of negro population between 1910 and 1920 is due principally to the great increase of negro population in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. The total increase in the negro population of the United States was 635,368, and it will be noted that the increase in the northern states mentioned was 56% of the total increase. This northward movement of the negro population was due mainly to the expansion of certain industries during the world war and the high wages paid being the great attraction. It is probably true that there has been considerable return movement since the war, due to depression in certain industries, and that a large number of negroes have moved south to their former homes."

## THE BLACK PERIL.

The birth rate of the black is 5.7 per cent greater than the white. Should the blacks continue to gain, what will then eventually become of the dominant white race, the capitalist class, the state and the church? Obliteratum, exterminatus, destruction!

We leave to those, whose vicious interests lead them to continue to stir up race hatred and riots, by one subterfuge or another, to worry over the problem of the rapid increase of the black population in America. From our standpoint this situation presents no horrifying terror, but is the natural result of historic conditions. The capitalists are reaping just what they may well have expected when they first undertook to transplant a noble prolific race from a state of freedom in its native African shores to one of economic life servitude on the then newly discovered continent of America.

It is therefore, easy to understand why the powers that be, fearing the overthrow of their supremacy and tyrannical arrogant dominance, permit the bitter prejudice and bigoted persecution that has characterized the white race's attitude toward their black brothers for the past five hundred years, to continue unchecked in America.

Do you longer wonder at the meaning of all this race hatred, all this prejudice, discrimination and violence against the black race, with which the pages of our country's history are stained? Are race riots and lynch-law necktie parties

still mystery to you? Or do you now see at last that they are the result of deliberately planned, carefully camouflaged, but none the less insidious and vicious capitalistic propaganda? And what are the motives that inspire this persistent dastardly cunning agitation, but a desire on the part of those who seek to perpetuate the present capitalistic system to prevent the black and white workers, the economic slaves of today, from becoming united as one strong labor class.

## THE MENACE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN.

The shadow of the Invisible Empire is expanding through the United States like wild fire. It is disseminating fear and hatred among the workers. The dominant class in society, the capitalists, look upon the Ku Klux Klan as a savior from the indomitable advance of the working class to power.

The Ku Klux Klan, at present, finds sympathy and support among the politicians and in all the Protestant churches. The Catholic church in the United States is in opposition to the Ku Klux Klan not because they condemn acts of violence but because of discrimination in membership. Should the Ku Klux Klan decide to make a change in its Constitution and admit Catholics into its fellowship there are reasons to believe that the Klan will be overwhelmed with applications. Also, there is evidence that Pope Pius XI will sanction the whole proceeding with his fatherly blessing.

To prove the foregoing statement one needs only observe the Fascisti organization in Italy where the Pope has materially supported it in acts of violence perpetrated on the Italian working class.

Since 1919, Italy has been under mob-rule. Thousands of Chambers of Labor and Co-operative stores have been burned. Social clubs, libraries and printing presses have been destroyed by the Fascisti and the Pope as the Holy Father of the Catholic Church has given his approval to all these barbaric deeds.

According to press dispatches, President Obregon of Mexico has expelled the Catholic Delegate, Ernesto Fillippi, charging him, first, with violation of the Mexican Constitution, which forbid the holding of any outdoor religious service or procession. Second, implicating him in the organization of a Fascisti movement in Mexico. President

Obregon frankly stated that the Catholic Church of Mexico is opposed to all progressive ideas and in general against the working class progress and that in the near future it will be the duty of the Mexican Government to expel all priests and missionaries who by their teachings interfere with the industrial development of Mexico. This is evidence that the purposes of the Catholic Church, Fascisti and the Ku Klux Klan are in accord and have a common bond of sympathy.

From historical facts we know that the Catholic Church has at all times been the friend of the oppressors and the enemy of the oppressed. The black pages of the history of the Catholic Church are covered with the blood of thousands of workers, killed and sacrificed to the altar of Moloch.

What is the Ku Klux Klan? It is an organization of 100%, yellow and immoral ruffians organized to fight the workers.

The aim of the Ku Klux Klan is to fight organized labor, plus hatred of the negroes and the Jews, labeled 100% American and rolled up in the Stars and the Stripes. This organization is modeled like the Italian Fascisti and their barbaric method is to kill all who have a different opinion than they. We cannot find a single particle of manhood among these savage members of the Ku Klux Klan. They work in darkness because they have not the courage to come out and fight like men. The method is very plain, to kidnap a victim, give him a coat of tar and feathers, compel him to kiss the flag and in some instances to murder him. All this in the name of 100% Americanism.

After the fiasco of the American Legion the Ku Klux Klan was organized to fight the progress of the working class and its aim is not to fight the negro or Jew capitalist but to crush the workers only. The Ku Klux Klan and the capitalist class have everything in common. The former was organized to protect the interests of the latter. What is the answer to the menace of this new tyranny? The only answer is to organize as a class.

Workers, unite wherever you are, black or white, Jew or gentile, Christian or infidel, stand together, fight together, for the emancipation of the working class. It is only industrial solidarity that will save us from the menace of the Ku Klux Klan and from the tyranny of the capitalist

system: "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to loose but your chains and a world to gain."

## INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY.

For it is obvious, if the black and the white laborers once join hands, and press forward together, determined to make common cause of their common grievances against their common capitalistic foe, then even those unscrupulous, bloody forces, allied against the workers, will be powerless to avert the impending overthrow of the master class. For in the complete economic unity and industrial solidarity of the workers, black, white and yellow, of all industries and occupations, there lies unconquerable strength and irresistible power.

Join hands, then, black and white wage slaves, arise! Unite and co-operate till your common foe, capitalism is no more!

## METHODS AND MOTIVES.

The solution of the negro problem from the workers' standpoint entails the same vital issues that underlie the solution of the economic problem of industry in general. These issues will never be solved permanently until the capitalistic system and all that goes with it is discarded or abolished and the real producers and workers of the world come into possession of the machinery of production which they should rightfully own. This would put an end to the unscrupulous exploitation of the workers by the capitalist class. These parasitic monopolists have succeeded in keeping the toilers under the domination of their bloody yoke, only by the cruel and dastardly application of their one remaining excuse for retaining power, the possession of the money lash, of capital, and the property whip of commerce, through which they control and dominate industry, state and church alike, at the present time.

The uniformed pawns of the moneyed masters, the blue uniformed police and khaki clad soldiers, together with the wearers of the black cloth of the church, the prostituted clergy, are the greatest enemies of labor and the grimmest menaces confronting the progress of civilization today.

As long as capital can continue to distract the masses and divert their attention from the real dominating issues of the class struggle, by subterfuge, playing upon class and race hatreds, etc., and as long as the black and white laborers can be kept in antagonistic ignorance through systematic camouflage and through poisoned falsified publicity; as long as they can pit one group of workers against another, playing upon the instincts of race hatred, natural antipathy and emotional repulsions; so long will they continue to play the game from both ends, stirring up as much strife, dissension and conflict as possible between the two great major races of which the American working class is composed. But why all this malicious agitation and propaganda? It is only to stave off the day of their approaching downfall as long as possible.

For the handwriting is already clear and unmistakable upon the wall of human consciousness, and these last feeble efforts of the corporate oppressors, represent but a vain attempt to keep the tottering legs of capital from crumbling beneath its own overbalanced weight. They seek to stave off for a little while longer, if possible, the impending overthrow of the present barbarous system of human exploitation, which threatens in the very near future, in spite of all efforts to delay the desperate last moment, to come tumbling about the heads of those responsible for its perpetuation.

## THE SOLUTION—INDUSTRIAL EMANCIPATION.

The days of black human slavery are over, but the barbarism of the white industrial slavery that has supplanted it is even more vicious and repulsive. The workers are no longer to be deluded by soft oily misstatements of their true relation with capital—their natural enemy, with whom they have nothing in common. The issue is clear, and even the priests and clergy are unable to longer ward off the impending doom from the heads of their unprincipled masters. Traffic in "black ivory" is a thing of the past. Traffic in "white ivory" (industrial exploitation and economic slavery) has become even more savage and reprehensible.

Men are no longer willing to slave in order to exist. Black and white workers alike clearly understand the inhumanity, injustice and depravity of the present system. They demand in addition to employment, complete industrial emancipation,

the right and means to live. The struggle for existence belongs to the animal kingdom. Man, however, is more highly developed than the lower animals. He is entitled to look forward to something better and higher, than the primitive rudimentary struggle of life in which the brutally fittest survive.

The world's workers, the actual creators of all wealth, the producers of all comforts and luxuries, have by their centuries of productivity, demonstrated their fitness to survive in the economic struggle. Labor will inherit the future. Capitalism will pass out as have feudalism, nomadism and tribal communism (systems that preceded it), taking its appointed place upon the shelf of antiquity, among the outworn, archaic social systems, long since outgrown and discarded by the race in the process of evolution.

The issue today lies between righteous liberty and industrial tyranny. It is a fight for economic freedom and justice. Under capitalism, justice is a myth. There can be no economic justice as long as we have a capitalist class as ruling class and a working class as a ruled class. Justice is only possible where economic classes do not exist.

The time is ripe! Ethiopian fellow workers, join hands with your white brothers! Through industrial solidarity we shall conquer the despotic capitalist class and the Church hierarchy.

Today the ruling class have recognized what for years they pretended to deny; namely, the dynamic force of workers' solidarity. The rise to power of the proletariat is inevitable.

Capitalism, the gnawing sanguinary monster, capitalism the cruel and unrelenting enemy of the workers, is on the verge of utter collapse. The victory of the workers is sure. "The lowly shall inherit the earth." Therefore the duty of the working class is to unite, to rise out of servitude and claim the world. Then parasitism will be at an end and if anyone will not work neither shall he eat. It is the historic mission of the proletariat to sweep away capitalism and proclaim the Workers' Republic, with justice, liberty and equity for all.

THE END.



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